1:Seligmann & Seligmann 2-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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614 793 *waruge* from the "Veddas" of Rotawewa—a rice-growing village in Sinhala Pattuwa of Tamankaduwa, the inhabitants of which say they are descendants from Veddas—although all accounts show that they are indistinguishable from their Sinhalese neighbours. "When Kuveni was abandoned by Vijaya she returned with her two children, a boy and girl, to her own people, who killed her. Her children fled to the jungle and lived on the fruits of the '*mova*' tree. One of their children came to Minneriya and founded the Minneriya (now Rotawewa) Veddas of the Morane Waruge." We have not visited these people but it may be assumed that they are at least as sophisticated as the "Veddas" of Yakure.

Unapane. Unapane *waruge* is an offshoot from Morane. A chief's daughter was given to another chief's son. When going to the bridegroom's cave the girl got thirsty on the way and the only water available was a minute trickle down the face of a rock. The man allowed this to soak into a piece of cloth which he squeezed into a bamboo from which the girl drank. This is the origin of the name from *una* "bamboo" and *pane* "water," and the descendants of this couple were called Unapane.

Uru. A Morane girl became pregnant and refused to give the name of her lover. She was beaten and driven away from the group and brought forth her child in a hole dug by a wild boar, *uru*, hence the name Uru *waruge*.

Aembala. Aembala *waruge* has sprung from Unapane. An Unapane girl's husband died while she was pregnant, and all her other relations were dead. When her child was born she left it under a tree while she went to dig yams. On her return she found that red ants (*aembaleo*) had blinded her child, whence the child was called Aembeli, and her descendants formed Aembala clan.

Namadewa. An Aembala woman brought forth a female child under a *namada* tree; this girl was therefore named Namadi and from her descendants arose the Namadewa clan.

582 611 Exogamy prevails among the Veddas of Bintenne and Tamankaduwa and clan descent is matrilineal. These conditions also prevail at Godatalawa and therefore must be assumed to have existed at Galmede whence the Godatalawa family had

1;Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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come, but strangely this and the nearly related Sitala Wanniya Veddas were the only communities to the east of the Badulla-Batticaloa road in which exogamy prevailed. The Henebedda and Kovil Vanamai Veddas all married freely within the clan. It is, however, probable that this is a recent though not quite modern innovation, since at Henebedda it was said that it was particularly fitting that Morane and Unapane should intermarry.

Nevill recognised the existence of exogamy, and presumably it was of the Bintenne Veddas that he made the following very definite statement, which applies equally well to the condition of things existing at the present day, even among such sophisticated folk as those of Omuni, where genealogies were taken in order to make quite certain of this matter. "The rule for marriage was stringent. The daughter represents her mother's family, the son also represents his mother's family. In no case did a person marry one of the same family, even though the relationship was lost in remote antiquity. Such a marriage is incest. The penalty for incest is death. Thus the daughter must marry either her father's sister's son, or her mother's brother's son, neither of whom would be of the same clan name. Failing these she may marry any of their name, and should no such bridegroom be available, marriage into a third family becomes necessary[1]."

If the distribution of these Vedda communities in which exogamy prevails be studied on the map it will be seen that with the exception of the Sitala Wanniya and Godatalawa (Galmode) groups all the Veddas to the west of the Badulla-Batticaloa road are exogamous, whereas those to the east of the road contract marriage within the clan.

As a matter of convenience we now give a list complementary to that on pp. 71 to 74 showing what *waruge* were represented in each of the communities we visited. Danigala: Morane, Unapane, Namadewa (the last not acknowledged). Henebedda: Morane, Unapane, Namadewa (the latter properly forming the Kolombedda community and settlement). Kovil Vanamai (Bandaraduwa): Morane, Unapane, Uru (the latter forming the settlement at Uniche). In all these settlements marriage occurs within the clan.

[1] *Taprobanian*, Vol. I, 1886, p. 178.

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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614 **Sitala Wanniya.** The Sitala Wanniya people said that Morane and Unapane were the only *varuge* of which they had any first-hand knowledge. They had, however, heard that formerly three other *varuge* called Uru, Kabela and Aembala existed, and that the folk of these *varuge* were of lower status than the people of Morane and Unapane.

Godatalawa (Galmede). These people all belonged to Morane and Unapane *varuge*.

Unuwatura Bubula. The *varuge* of this settlement were Morane, Unapane and Bandara *varuge*. Exogamy was strictly adhered to, and the children took their mother's *varuge*. As far as we could determine, all the poverty-stricken Veddas settled on chenas in the neighbourhood of Kallodi and Maha Oya on the Badulla-Batticaloa road belonged either to Morane, Unapane, Bandara (Rugam) or Uru *varuge*, the Morane and Unapane Veddas of the large chena settlement at Rerenkadi holding the last to be of inferior status.

Lindegala. Three men, the last remains of the Lindegala Veddas, visited us at Kallodi. The oldest of these, the possessor of the *aude* with inlaid silver work referred to on p. 171, was a rather tall stoutly built man who looked like a Sinhalese. He, however, remembered his *varuge* Morane and stated that his wife belonged to Bandara *varuge* and one of his companions who belonged to this *varuge* had a wife belonging to Morane *varuge*. It was stated that children took their mother's *varuge*.

Elakotaliya. The *varuge* of this settlement are Namadewa, Uru and Rugam; exogamy was insisted on, and in all the nine marriages of which we have notes the contracting parties were of different *varuge*. In seven cases Uru and Namadewa *varuge* intermarried, in one instance Namadewa and Rugam *varuge*, while in the last instance the *varuge* of the woman was uncertain. Although it was clearly stated that the children should take their father's *varuge*, it was certain that in some cases they took their mother's *varuge*.

It was said that a man should marry his father's sister's daughter and not his mother's brother's daughter but we could not establish this.

Kalukalaeba. Morane, Namadewa, Uru and Rugam *varuge*

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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are represented in this settlement. Although in conversation no importance was attached to exogamy this must be taken to exist since all of the ten marriages recorded are exogamous. These include six marriages of Morane with Namadewa *waruge*, two of Morane and Uru *waruge* and one each of Morane and Rugam *waruge* and of Rugam and Namadewa *waruge*. Children take their mother's *waruge*.

Yakure. The *waruge* existing here are Namadewa, Aembala, Bendia, Rugam and Tala. Uru *waruge* was known by name but not otherwise, Dehigama was recognised as belonging to the Uva Bintenne and Morane *waruge* as existing in the neighbourhood of Omuni. Exogamy was the rule and occurred in every marriage (8) of which we have records. *Waruge* descent should be in the female line but in some instances children took their father's *waruge*. Seeking to elucidate this matter it was said that whereas girls took their mother's *waruge* boys took their father's, but this rule certainly did not hold in all cases[1]. Cousin marriage was said to be the old custom, but it was admitted that at the present day this custom was more often neglected than observed.

Ulpota. This is said to be the most important of four small settlements of village Veddas in the neighbourhood of Dimbulagala (Gunner's Quoin). These settlements are Ulpota, Kohombolewa, Alagonagoda and Gonandamene all of which, according to Mutua our informant, consist of a small number (Kohombolewa eight, Gonandamene three) of huts. Mutua, who said that he was headman of the Tamankaduwa Veddas, gave the *waruge* of these settlements as Rugam, Aembala and Morane; the last being to his mind less numerous and less important than the others. The conditions as regards *waruge* descent and exogamy are the same as at Yakure. Of fifteen marriages recorded eleven are between individuals of Rugam and Aembala

[1] We may here refer to a statement made while we were investigating this matter at Yakure. "Properly speaking there are no *waruge* among the Veddas, who are only classified into *waruge* for the purpose of marriage." We could not determine what was in our informant's mind, and although we were subsequently told the same by the Ulpota Veddas we could not obtain any light on the subject from either community.

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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614 582 611 *warugé*, the remaining four between Morane and Aembala (2) or Rugam (2) *warugé*.

Dambani. These extremely sophisticated Veddas probably belong to Namadewa *warugé* and descent is probably matrilineal.

614 Malgode (Horaborawewa). Our informants knew of Namadewa, Dehigama and Kapatu *warugé* and no others, but when Morane *warugé* was mentioned to them one man stated that he had heard of a *warugé* of that name.

[582 611] Girandura. Here too exogamy prevailed though children took their father's *warugé*, and we could discover no exception to these rules. The marriages we could trace took place between Dehigama and Namadewa *warugé*, and between Dehigama and Uru *warugé*, we consequently assume that these are the *warugé* represented in this community.

The Comparative Status of the Clans.

614 554 The members of the Morane and Unapane clans generally considered themselves superior to the Namadewa, Uru and Aembala *warugé*. This feeling was so strong at Henebedda that much difficulty was at first experienced in collecting genealogies. Representatives of the Morane, Unapane and Namadewa clans were for the time living together at Bendiyagalge caves, and the difference in status between the Morane and Unapane on the one hand, and Namadewa on the other, was felt so strongly that the members of the last-mentioned *warugé* invariably denied their clan, while the Morane and Unapane folk said the Namadewa were their servants. It seemed clear that in the old days Morane and Unapane folk never married into one of the servile clans, but two or three such marriages had taken place within recent years, and in every case these marriages were at first denied. The most striking proof of this feeling was evinced when we had come to know all the members of the community and pretence had been largely given up; Sita Wanniya and Poromala our usual guides, both Morane men, led us one day to the Namadewa chena. The Namadewa men immediately began an angry protest. "These people," they said, meaning Poromala and Sita Wanniya, "call us Namadewa; it

[582]

1;Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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227
411
186
61
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[235]

[113] Fig. 13. Verda bow and harpoon × 1/11.
Iron harpoon head × 1/3.

fig. 2, while Mr Storey's book contains an excellent photograph of these people spearing fish[1].

The length of the Verda bow and harpoon shaft shown in fig. 13 are 208 cm. and 220 cm. respectively. The bow is an extremely powerful weapon, its diameter at its thickest part being about 3·3 cm.

In spite of the perfectly obvious fact that the majority of the Verdas are more Tamil than Vedda the old Vedda pride of blood survives and some of the older Verdas denied that they intermarried with Tamils.

Children of marriages in which the *waruge* of the contracting parties were known took their father's *waruge*, but it seemed to be a matter of no account whether or no individuals of the same *waruge* intermarried.

Everyone avoids eating fowl and all our informants both male and female denied that they ever ate it, though often suggesting that others might do so. On the other hand, one informant who bred fowls for sale summed the matter up with an emphatic "Veddas don't eat fowls." No reason was given for this abstinence but all agreed that their ancestors had not eaten fowl, though the majority of our informants admitted that they would breed fowls for sale and kill and prepare fowls for others to eat. Beef was said to be generally avoided though it was not

[1] *Hunting and Shooting in Ceylon*, London, 1907, p. 330.